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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PROPOSED UNION

OF THE

BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES,

BEING A PAPER READ BEFORE

THE CHARLOTTETOWN LITERARY AND DEBATING SOCIETY,

BY THE

Hon. W. H. POPE, Colonial Secretary,

3d February, 1865.

Revised, corrected and reprinted from the Islander.

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To the

Mr. PRESIDENT

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To the President and Members of the Charlottetown Literary and Debating Society.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

At the request of your Association, communicated to me by your Secretary, a few days since, I appear here, this evening, for the purpose of placing before you my views and opinions upon the question of the proposed Union of the British North American Colonies, upon the basis of the Resolutions adopted at the Conference held at Quebec in October last.

I acceded to your request with pleasure, assured that an opportunity would here be afforded me of advancing, at least, a few of the arguments which might be adduced in favor of the great proposed Inter-colonial Union, and of having the soundness and force of my arguments tested by an Assembly such as I see before me. I valued your invitation as a compliment to myself, personally, and also as an evidence of willingness on the part of a Literary Society to discuss a question which I almost feared was deemed, by the citizens of Charlottetown, unworthy of serious consideration. Permit me to say that I attach much importance to the conclusions at which, after debating the subject, your Association will arrive. I do so, because I believe that your object will be to ascertain the truth.

The subject which I am about to bring under your notice is one of vast importance, and is worthy your most serious and attentive consideration.

Time will not admit of my entering upon a full exposition of the Report of the Conference; I shall, therefore, with a few digressions, confine myself to the enquiry, "what would be our position. FINANCIALLY, under the Confederation," and to a few observations upon the questions of "Defence" and "Representation in the Federal Legislature."

THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The 6th section of the Report of the Quebec Conference reads as follows:

"6. There shall be a General Legislature or Parliament for the Federated Provinces, composed of a Legislative Council and a House of Commons."

The 7th section provides that:

"7. For the purpose of forming the Legislative Council, the Federated Provinces shall be considered as consisting of three divisions: 1st Upper Canada; 2nd, Lower Canada; 3rd, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island; each division with an equal representation in the Legislative Council."

The 8th section declares that:

"8. Upper Canada shall be represented in the Legislative Council by 24 members, Lower Canada by 24 members, and the three Maritime Provinces by 24 members; of which Nova Scotia shall have ten, New Brunswick ten, and Prince Edward Island four members."

REPRESENTATION IN THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND THE METHOD OF RE-ADJUST- MENT EVERY TEN YEARS.

These matters are provided for by sections 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 of the Report which are as follow:

17. The basis of Representation in the House of Commons, shall be Population, as determined by the Official Census every ten years: and the number of Members at first shall be 194, distributed as follows:

Upper Canada	82
Lower Canada	65
Nova Scotia	19
New Brunswick	15
Newfoundland	8
and Prince Edward Island	5

18. Until the Official Census of 1871 has been made up, there shall be no change in the number of Representatives from the several sections.

19. Immediately after the completion of the Census of 1871, and immediately after every Decennial Census thereafter, the Representation from each section in the House of Commons shall be re-adjusted on the basis of Population.

20. For the purpose of such re-adjustments, Lower Canada shall always be assigned sixty-five members, and each of the other sections shall at each re-adjustment receive, for the ten years then next succeeding, the number of members to which it will be entitled on the same ratio of representation to population as Lower Canada will enjoy according to the Census last taken by having sixty-five members.

21. No reduction shall be made in the number of Members returned by any section, unless its population shall have decreased relatively to the population of the whole Union, to the extent of five per centum.

22. In computing at each decennial period, the number of Members to which each section is entitled, no fractional parts shall be considered, unless when exceeding one half the number entitling to a Member, in which case a Member shall be given for each such fractional part.

The powers of the General Parliament are expressed in section 29 of the Report :

29. The General Parliament shall have power to make Laws for the peace, welfare and good Government of the Federated Provinces (saving the Sovereignty of England) and especially Laws respecting the following subjects :—

1. The Public Debt and Property.
2. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
3. The imposition or regulation of Duties of Customs on Imports and Exports, except on Exports of Timber, Logs, Masts, Spars, Deals, and Sawn Lumber and of Coal and other Minerals.
4. The imposition or regulation of Excise Duties.
5. The raising of money by all or any other modes or systems of Taxation.
6. The Borrowing of Money on the Public Credit.
7. Postal Service.
8. Lines of Steam or other Ships, Railways, Canals and other works, connecting any two or more of the Provinces together or extending beyond the limits of any Province.
9. Lines of Steamships between the Federated Provinces and other Countries.
10. Telegraphic Communication and the incorporation of Telegraph Companies.
11. All such works as shall, although lying wholly within any Province be specially declared by the Acts authorizing them to be for the general advantage.
12. The Census.
13. Militia—Military and Naval Service and
14. Beacons, Buoys and Light Houses.
15. Navigation and Shipping.
16. Quarantine.
17. Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries.
18. Ferries between any Province and a Foreign Country, or between any two Provinces.
19. Currency and Coinage.
20. Banking, Incorporation of Banks, and the issue of paper money.
21. Savings Banks.
22. Weights and Measures.
23. Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
24. Interest.
25. Legal Tender.
26. Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
27. Patents of Invention and Discovery.
28. Copy Rights.
29. Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians.
30. Naturalization and Aliens.
31. Marriage and Divorce.
32. The Criminal Law, excepting the Constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the procedure in Criminal matters.
33. Rendering uniform all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and rendering uniform the procedure of all or any of the Courts in these Provinces; but any Statute for this purpose shall have no force or authority in any Province until sanctioned by the Legislature thereof.
34. The Establishment of a General Court of Appeal for the Federated Provinces.
35. Immigration.
36. Agriculture.
37. And generally respecting all matters of a general character, not specially and exclusively reserved for the Local Governments and Legislatures.

To promote the peace, security, welfare and good government of his country, should be an object of earnest solicitude with every citizen. Good government, peace, security and prosperity cannot exist in any country unless it be governed by laws founded upon "right reason." The knowledge and virtue which are requisite in Legislators, in order to qualify and dispose them to enact wise and just laws, are likely to be found in a much greater degree in the Parliament of the Confederation, among the representatives of four millions, than in the Legislative Halls of Prince Edward Island, where but 80,000 people are represented; and, inasmuch as that true law on which their Legislation will, I trust, ever be founded, is, in its nature, universal, immutable and unchangeable—not one thing to-day and another to-morrow—not one thing in Charlottetown, and another in Ottawa, I think it is a matter of congratulation to all, and one of the strongest arguments in favor of Confederation, that our incorporation into the Great British American Union would confer upon us the many important advantages which would necessarily result from bringing us under the operation of the Laws which the General Parliament, in its wisdom, may deem proper for securing the peace, welfare, security and good government of the Confederated Provinces.

It must be apparent to all that Prince Edward Island, with its limited area of one million three hundred thousand acres, and its small population of eighty thousand, cannot reasonably expect to be represented either in the House of Commons of a Confederacy of nearly four millions, or in its Legislative

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Council, by a number of members sufficiently large to enable the Island to influence, in any material degree, the Legislative action of either of these bodies. If it shall be our privilege to enter the Confederation under the terms proposed in the Report of the Quebec Conference, we shall have five representatives in an Assembly consisting of 194 members; and if our interests cannot be protected by that number, depend upon it we should not be safer, though we had *six* or even *ten* representatives. Our safety would consist in the fact that *our* interests would be the interests of our fellow subjects throughout the Confederation, and that every member who takes his seat in the House of Commons, or in the Legislative Council, would be, to all intents and purposes, a representative of Prince Edward Island. The general Government will possess power to impose duties of Customs and Excise, and also to impose such general taxes as they may deem requisite. This power, I shall be told, the Federal Legislature would exercise, wholly uninfluenced and uncontrolled by the representatives of the people of this Island. The support of the National Government—the development of the national Trade and Commerce—and the security and defence of our common country would alone, be the objects, for the promotion of which taxation will be imposed by the general Legislature; and I submit that no inhabitant of this Island, entertaining proper views of his obligations as a citizen, would be found unwilling that we should contribute our full share of the funds requisite for these purposes.

That Prince Edward Island would send but five members to the Federal House of Commons, is, to my mind, no valid reason why the people of this Island should fear excessive taxation. In the Federal Legislature, I presume, there would not be class legislation; and, I think, we may rest assured that the people of Canada, and of the larger Provinces, would look to it that taxation be kept as low as possible. Of every one hundred dollars of taxation, imposed by the general Legislature, Prince Edward Island would contribute about \$2.50; the remaining \$97.50 would be borne by other portions of the Confederation.

I have seen recently, in the local newspapers, an appalling array of figures, designed to represent the millions in which we are to be taxed for the construction of Canals in Upper Canada, for the development of the trade of the "great West" with the seaboard; and I should most certainly have been induced to join the ranks of the opponents of Confederation, had I regarded these figures,

and the remarks which accompanied them, in the light in which I am inclined to believe they have been regarded by numbers of the tax-payers of Prince Edward Island. Very many have been induced to believe that the improvements referred to,—which are estimated to cost a sum of money so large that our local Government, extravagant as it is, could not spend it in less time than several centuries,—are at once to be undertaken, and the Confederation taxed to find the means to pay for them. I, being aware that the danger of absolute ruin, to arise out of the construction of Canals, is merely imaginary, notwithstanding the reading of the letter in which these frightful figures are paraded, have remained to the present moment an humble, but zealous advocate for Confederation. If there are in this Assembly any who have read the alarming statements relative to these improvements—estimated to cost some fifty millions of dollars—I trust they will allow me to read, for their information, the 69th section of the Report of the Conference, which is as follows:

69. The communications with the North-Western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the Trade of the Great West with the Seaboard, are regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Federated Provinces, and shall be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the Finances will permit.

Here it is expressly stated that the improvements required for the development of the trade of the Great West with the seaboard, shall be prosecuted "*at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit.*" The opponents of Confederation may assert, that these improvements, when completed, would not benefit Prince Edward Island, or even that they would injure the Island, and would benefit Upper Canada alone. I believe that the development of the trade of the Great West with the seaboard would prove highly beneficial to every portion of the Confederation. The Maritime Provinces could not but derive benefit from the opening of a passage for ships, from the interior of British America through the noble Lakes of Canada, and the great River St. Lawrence to the Atlantic Ocean. If the representatives of Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island should consider that the proposed improvements for the development of the trade of the Great West would not be a general benefit, they, having a large majority in both branches of the general Legislature, would not sanction the prosecution of them. The first object of the members of the Legislature, as well

those who represent the Maritime Provinces as those who represent the far West, would, I trust, be the full development of the trade of our common country; and I cannot suppose that they would require to be convinced that establishing an uninterrupted communication, by means of sea-going vessels between the vast fertile districts of the far West and the Atlantic, would be a most important means to the attainment of this great end; or that they would hesitate for a moment to provide the funds necessary therefor at the earliest possible period the state of the finances would permit their doing so. I shall now submit a statement of what I believe would be

THE REVENUE OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
UNDER CONFEDERATION.

The average amount of indebtedness per head of the population of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is assumed equal to \$25. Prince Edward Island will be entitled to receive in accordance with the terms of the 63rd section of the Report of the Quebec Conference, by half yearly payments in advance, the interest at 5 per cent per annum on the difference between the actual amount of its indebtedness and the average amount of the indebtedness per head of the population of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

The assumed debt of Prince Edward Island, at \$25 per head of the population of 1861, is

Allowance from General Government,	\$155,112.60	or	£48,472	13	9
Fees from Public Offices, Licenses, &c.,	3,200.00		1,000	0	0
Fines and Penalties,	320.00		100	0	0
Proceeds of Public Lands after payment of expenses of management, including sums due from purchasers, which, by the 56th and 57th sections of the Report, are to belong to the Local Government, estimated to produce in perpetuity,	3,200.00		1,000	0	0
Land Assessment,	14,400.00		4,500	0	0

By an estimate of A. G. Jones, Esq., of Halifax, Nova Scotia, the amount required to meet the expense of maintaining the public service of that Province, under Confederation, is put at \$592,860, or about \$1.69 per head of the population at the present time. The sum of \$176,232.60 or £55,072, is equal to upwards of \$2.10 or 13s. 14d. per head of the present population of Prince Edward Island.

The following sections of the Report of the Conference have been referred to in the foregoing remarks upon the Revenue under Confederation, viz :

56. All lands, mines, minerals and royalties vested in Her Majesty in the Provinces of Upper

	\$2,021,425 or £631,695	6	3
The actual debt on } 31st Jan., 1865, }	212,895 or 66,526	11	3
	\$1,808,540 or £565,168	15	0

Interest at 5 per cent per annum on this amount will be \$90,427 or £28,258 8s. 9d. currency. This sum represents the amount which, by half yearly payments in advance, will be paid by the general Government, annually, to Prince Edward Island.

It is further provided by section 64th that, in consideration of the transfer to the general Government of the powers of taxation, an annual grant in aid of each Province shall be made, equal to 80 cents per head of the population as established by the census of 1861. This would give Prince Edward Island \$64,683.60 or £20,214 5s. 0d. cy., making the total amount, which we should annually receive from the general Government \$155,112 60 or £48,472 13s. 9d. P. Edward Island currency

The general Government, under Confederation, will assume the payment of the salaries of the Judges of the Supreme Court; the expense of the Postal Service, Lighthouses, Buoys, Beacons, &c.; expenses connected with the collection of Impost and Customs, Volunteers and Militia, Telegraph subsidy and the Public Debt. The Revenue of Prince Edward Island, under Confederation, may be stated as follows :

Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the use of such Provinces, shall belong to the Local Government of the territory in which the same are so situate; subject to any trusts that may exist in respect to any of such lands or to any interest of other persons in respect of the same.

57. All sums due from purchasers or lessees of such lands, mines or minerals at the time of the Union, shall also belong to the Local Governments.

58. All assets connected with such portions of the public debt of any Province as are assumed by the Local Governments, shall also belong to those Governments respectively.

59. The other Public right of Lands or other acquisitions of the Debt

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50. The several Provinces shall retain all other Public Property therein, subject to the right of the General Government to assume any Lands or Public Property required for Fortifications or the Defence of the Country.

60. The General Government shall assume all the Debts and Liabilities of each Province.

61. The Debt of Canada not specially assumed by Upper and Lower Canada respectively, shall not exceed at the time of the Union, - - - \$62,500,000

Nova Scotia shall enter the Union with a debt not exceeding \$8,000,000

And New Brunswick, with a debt not exceeding \$7,000,000

62. In case Nova Scotia or New Brunswick do not incur liabilities beyond those for which their Governments are now bound, and which shall make their debts at the date of Union less than \$8,000,000 and \$7,000,000 respectively, they shall be entitled to interest at 5 per cent. on the amount not so incurred, in like manner as is hereinafter provided for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island; the foregoing resolution being in no respect intended to limit the powers given to the respective Governments of those

Provinces by Legislative authority, but only to limit the maximum amount of charge to be assumed by the General Government. Provided always that the powers so conferred by the respective Legislatures shall be exercised within five years from this date, or the same shall then lapse.

63. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, not having incurred Debts equal to those of the other Provinces, shall be entitled to receive by half-yearly payments in advance from the General Government the Interest at five per cent. on the difference between the actual amount of their respective Debts at the time of the Union, and the average amount of indebtedness per head of the population of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

64. In consideration of the transfer to the General Parliament of the powers of Taxation, an annual grant in aid of each Province shall be made, equal to 80 cents per head of the population, as established by the Census of 1861, the population of Newfoundland being estimated at 130,000. Such aid shall be in full settlement of all future demands upon the General Government for local purposes, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each Province.

The following TABLE exhibits an Estimate of EXPENSES of GOVERNMENT of P. E. ISLAND under Confederation, contrasted with actual Expenditure of 1863.

	ASSUMED EXPENDITURE UNDER CONFEDERATION.			ACTUAL EXPENDITURE 1863		
Education	-	-	\$52,006 40 or £16,252	\$52006 40	or £16,252	
Supreme Court	-	-	4012 80	4012 80	1254	
Judges' Salaries	-	-	-	3520 00	1100	
Roads, Bridges and Wharfs	-	-	25657 60	25657 60	8018	
Postal Service	-	-	-	15068 80	4709	
Light Houses, Beacons, &c.	-	-	-	3184 00	995	
Jails	-	-	2608 00	2608 00	815	
Public Lands	-	-	-	5795 90	1811	
Executive Council	-	-	1072 00	1072 00	335	
Imposts and Customs	-	-	-	3865 60	1208	
Lunatic Asylum	-	-	3843 20	3843 20	1201	
Legislature	-	-	8000 00	10691 20	3341	
Public Printing	-	-	1920 00	4880 00	1525	
Public Buildings	-	-	960 00	1788 80	559	
Elections	-	-	598 40	2368 00	740	
Paupers	-	-	2086 40	2086 40	652	
Board of Health	-	-	480 00	1433 60	448	
Volunteers and Militia	-	-	-	1449 60	453	
Inquests	-	-	176 00	176 00	55	
Treasurer and Colonial Secretary	-	-	2240 00	2240 00	700	
Registrar of Deeds	-	-	640 00	640 00	200	
Superintendent of Public works	-	-	960 00	470 40	147	
Pension to Colonial Secretary	-	-	640 00	640 00	200	
Auditors of Public Accounts	-	-	320 00	352 00	110	
Sheriffs	-	-	192 00	192 00	60	
Telegraph Company	-	-	-	864 00	270	
Agricultural Society	-	-	1280 00	217 60	68	
Drawbacks	-	-	-	777 60	243	
Inland Steam Navigation	-	-	-	362 00	119	
Interest on Public Debt	-	-	-	15952 00	4985	
Miscellaneous	-	-	3200 00	5513 60	1098	
Commissions to Collectors at Outports on duties received by them and deducted from their returns to the Treasury	-	-	-	2121 60	663	
			\$112,892 80 or £35,279	\$173,840 00	or £54,325	

These statements of "the Revenue under Confederation," and "Expenses of Government under Confederation," which I believe to be accurate, shew a balance of \$63,337.80 or £19,793, being excess of estimated Revenue over estimated Expenditure. Take from this annual surplus the Revenue from Land Assessment, \$14,400 or £4,500 currency, and the balance at 5 per cent per an. interest represents a capital of \$978,752.00 or £305,860 currency. One half of this amount would be more than adequate to cover the loss which would result to the Local Government, were they to purchase all the Proprietary lands in the Colony, and resell them to the tenants. The other moiety would enable

the Government to pay in full the salaries of the School Teachers throughout the Island, and also to relieve the people from the existing Land Assessment.

I shall, perhaps, be told that these benefits are offered us on condition that we surrender our present Constitution and subject ourselves to the ruinous taxation which the General Government would impose upon us. I shall now give you my reasons for believing that, should we become a portion of the Confederation, the taxes which we should pay, assuming the Canadian Tariff to remain at its present rate, would be less in amount than those now paid by the people of this Island.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ESTIMATED DUTIES on Goods imported into P. E. ISLAND in 1864, calculated according to P. E. Island and Canada Tariffs—Estimated amount of importations similar to those of 1863.

ARTICLES	QUANTITIES	VALUES.	P. E. I. Cy.	P. E. I. TARIFF	DUTY	DUTY P. E. I. Cy
Ale and Porter	4452 gals.	\$ 1779 20	£556	5d per gallon	\$298 60	£93
Anchors and Chains	405 tons	24544 00	7670	1 per cent	247 40	77
Apothecaries Wares and Patent Medicines		10028 80	3134	30 per cent	3018 00	940
Boots and Shoes		17779 20	5556	12½ per cent	2220 80	694
Candles		4403 20	1576	10 per cent	438 40	137
Clothing		10490 00	3278	12½ per cent	1312 00	410
Coffee ground	6196 lbs.	768 00	240	3d.	246 40	77
do green	4354 lbs.	432 00	135	2d.	115 20	36
Cordage	4776 tons	60682 00	18960	2 per cent	1212 80	379
Cider	260 gals.	32 00	10	5d.	16 00	5
Cigars		140 80	44	20 per cent	28 80	9
Clocks		377 60	118	25 per cent	92 80	29
Dry Goods		342068 00	106890	10 per cent	34204 86	10689
Earthenware & China		7009 00	2190	10 per cent	700 80	219
Dried Fruits	65576 lbs.	5446 40	1702	1d.	873 60	273
Glassware		4832 00	1510	10 per cent	483 20	151
Hardware & Cutlery		58896 00	18405	10 per cent	5888 00	1840
Iron, bar		38701 80	12094	5 per cent	1936 00	605
do Ironmongery		40970 00	12800	10 per cent	4097 00	1280
Leather Sole	108190 lbs.	21638 4	6762	1d.	1447 20	451
do Upper		2928 40	912	6½ per cent	182 40	57
Lemon Syrup	64 gals.	86 40	27	1s. per gallon.	9 60	3
Molasses	200223 gals.	40044 80	12514	4d.	10678 40	3337
Oakum		11127 40	3477	2 per cent	220 80	69
Oil Linseed		5040 00	1575	10 per cent	502 40	157
do Coal	16452 gals.	8577 00	2680	7½d	1644 80	514
Paint		5980 80	1869	10 per cent	598 80	187
Paper and Stationery		5776 00	1805	10 per cent	576 00	180
Salt	2408 tons	3852 80	1204	6d. per ton	192 00	60
Sails and Sailcloth		31339 40	9762	2 per cent	624 00	195
Soap		4368 00	1365	10 per cent	435 20	136
Spirits Brandy	2920 gals.	4087 00	1277	4s. 6d.	2102 40	657
do Gin	15961 "	5267 20	1646	3s. 6d.	8938 60	2793
do Rum	30591 "	9177 60	2868	2s.	9788 80	3059
do Whiskey	1089 "	960 00	300	3s. 6d.	608 00	190
Sugar refined	30983 lbs.	2627 60	818	3d.	1238 40	387
do unrefined	476632 "	22617 60	7068	7s per cwt	4765 80	1489
Tea	424150 "	106098 40	33137	4d.	22620 80	7069
Tobacco, manufactured	48301 "	12076 80	3774	6d.	6862 40	1207
Wine over £20 Pipe	2699 gals.	4540 80	1419	4s gall. & 5p.ct.	1952 00	610
do under do	170 "	224 00	70	25 per cent	54 40	17
Unenumerated Goods		49993 60	15623	Various rates	3828 20	1196
		\$987,584 or	£308,620		\$134,281 60	£41,963

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Ale and Porter
Anchors and Chains
Apothecaries Wares
Patent Medicines
Boots and Shoes
Candles
Clothing
Coffee ground
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Cider
Cigars
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Dried Fruits
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Sails and Sailcloth
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do Gin
do Rum
do Whiskey
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ARTICLES	QUANTITIES	VALUES	VALUES P.E.I. Cy	CANADA TARIFF	DUTY	DUTY PEI. Cy.
Ale and Porter	4452 gils.	\$ 1779 20	£ 556 30	per cent	\$534 40	£ 167
Anchors and Chains	405 tons	24541 00	7070	Free over 6 cwt.		
Apothecaries Wares and Patent Medicines		10028 80	3134	30 per cent	3018 00	940
Boots and Shoes		17779 20	5556 25		4445 80	1399
Candles		4403 20	1376 20		880 00	275
Clothing		10490 00	3278 25		2630 80	819
Coffee ground	6196 lbs	768 00	240	30 per cent & 3 cents	416 00	130
do green	4354 lbs.	432 00	135	5 per cent and 3 cents	150 40	47
Cordage	4776 tons	60682 00	18960	Free for ship building purposes		
Cider	260 gils.	32 00	10	20 per cent	6 40	2
Cigars		140 80	44	40 per ct. & \$3 per mille	64 00	20
Clocks		377 00	118	20 per cent	76 80	24
Dry Goods		342068 00	10680	20 per cent	68409 60	21378
Earthenware & China		7009 00	2190	20 per cent	1401 60	438
Dried Fruits	65576 lbs.	5446 40	1702	20 per cent	1088 00	340
Glassware		4832 00	1510	20 per cent	966 40	302
Hardware & Cutlery		58896 00	18405	20 per cent	11780 20	3681
Iron, bar		38701 00	12094	10 per cent	3868 80	1209
do Ironmongery		40970 00	12800	20 per cent	8192 00	2560
Leather Sole	108190 lbs.	21638 40	6762	20 per cent	4316 40	1352
do Upper		2928 40	912	20 per cent	582 40	182
Lemon Syrup	64 gils.	86 40	27	20 per cent	16 00	5
Melasses	200223 gils.	40044 80	12514	10 per ct. & 5 cents per gall.	14017 00	4380
Oakum		11127 40	3477	Free		
O.I. Linseed		5040 00	1575	20 per cent	1008 00	315
do Coal	16452 gils.	8577 00	2680	15 cents	2479 20	771
Paint		5980 80	1869	20 per cent	1196 80	374
Paper and Stationery		5776 00	1805	20 per cent	1155 20	361
Salt	2408 tons	3852 80	1204	Free		
Sails and Sailcloth		31338 40	9762	Free		
Soap		4368 00	1365	30 per cent	1308 80	409
Spirits; Brandy	2920 gils.	4087 00	1277	30 per ct & 15 cents per gall.	1664 00	520
do Gin	15961 "	5267 20	1640	100 per cent & do.	7661 80	2394
do Rum	30591 "	9177 60	2868	100 per cent & do.	13766 40	4302
do Whiskey	1089 "	960 00	300	40 cents per gall.	435 20	136
Sugar refined	30983 lbs.	2627 60	818	15 per cent & 3 cents per lb.	1321 60	413
do unrefined	476632 "	22617 60	7068	10 per cent & 2 cents per lb.	11796 20	3686
Tea	424150 "	106038 40	3337	15 per cent & 4 do.	32870 40	10272
Tobacco, manufactured	48301 "	12076 80	3774	30 per cent & 10 do.	8454 40	2642
Wine over £20 Pipe	2699 gils.	4540 80	1419	20 per cent & 15 do.	1312 00	410
do under do	170 "	224 00	70	do. do.	70 40	22
Unenumerated Goods		49993 60	15623	20 per cent	10000 00	3125
		\$987,584 or	£308,620		223,334 40	£69,792

The foregoing Table exhibits the amount of duties which the articles imported into this Island in the year 1863 would have paid, according to our Tariff for the year 1864, contrasted with the amount which the like articles, in the absence of confederation, would have paid under the Canadian Tariff of the same year. The Appendix (O) of the Journals of the House of Assembly for 1864, contains the returns from which the quantities of goods mentioned have been taken.

By this Table it appears, that while under the Island Tariff of 1864, the Importations of 1863, would have paid a duty of \$134,281.60 or £41,963; they, under the Canadian Tariff, HAD THEY BEEN IMPORTED FROM PLACES BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE CONFEDERATION, would have been chargeable with \$223,334.40 or, £69,792. The opponents of Confederation will doubtless exclaim, "here is con-

clusive evidence that were we to enter the Confederation, we should annually lose thereby to the extent of \$89,052.80 or £27,829." I submit, with deference to the opinions of these gentlemen, that it is evidence of no such thing. Under Confederation we should not import from beyond the limits of our own territory, several of the articles mentioned in the foregoing Table, as chargeable, on importation, with very heavy duties.—The articles to which I allude are produced in various parts of the British North American Provinces, and would of course come in duty free, and cost the Consumer less than he now pays for them, imported under the existing Island Tariff.—If this can be demonstrated, the sum saved to the consumer, I am certainly justified in placing as a credit in reduction of the \$89052.80 or £27,829. On reference to the column in this Table exhibiting the

amount of duty payable according to the Canadian Tariff it will be seen, that the three articles, Gin, Rum, and Tobacco, are chargeable with duties amounting to \$29,881.60, or £9,338. Under Confederation, the importation of these articles from abroad would be almost nominal.

The following are lists of wholesale prices of proof spirits in Toronto, and in Prince Edward Island.

PROOF SPIRITS, CANADIAN PRICES WHOLESALE, January 11, 1865.—Toronto Leader.

Canada Whiskey, 38c. to 40c., 2s. 5d. to 2s. 6d. Toddy whiskey, 60c., 3s. 9d. Old Rye, 60c. to 65c., 3s. 9d. to 4s. 1d.—average price 52c., or 3s. 4½d. Island currency.

In a review of the Trade of Toronto, during the year 1864, contained in the *Leader* of January 20, 1865, it is stated under the head LIQUORS:—

“The excitement incident on the expected levy of an excise duty, unsettled this article as well as tobacco, and purely speculative transactions were quite numerous, resulting in many instances in disappointment and loss. Those who happened to be possessed of good stocks when the duty came into force suddenly found their property enhanced in value. The price of Canadian whiskey ranged firm at 30c. to 34c. before the excise, and 40c. to 42c. since, at which latter rate it remains steady.”

PROOF SPIRITS, CHARLOTTETOWN PRICES, WHOLESALE, January, 1865.

Gin, \$1.12 or 7s.; Rum, 72c. or 4s. 6d.; Island whiskey, 80c. or 5s.; Malt do. \$1.12 or 7s.—average price 94c. or 5s. 10½d. Island currency.

Canadian whiskey of the above average, being two-thirds made from malt and rye, I am informed, could be landed here, including expenses and profits of importation at 68c. or 4s. 3d. Island currency per gallon. The Canadian returns prove that the people of that Province, consume spirits, at the rate of about two gallons per head of the population per annum. In Nova Scotia, Mr. Archibald estimates the consumption at 1½ gallons per head. It will be doing no injustice to the people of Prince Edward Island, to assume that they use at least the average amount, say about 1½ gallon per head. Assuming our population to be 84,000, this would amount to 126,000 gallons per annum.

Under Confederation foreign Gin and Rum would cost an average price of \$1.20 or 7s. 6d. per gallon, proof, and would give way to Home-manufactured Spirits, which would be

imported here free of duty, at a cost as above stated, of 68c. or 4s. 3d. per gallon, proof—28c. or 1s. 7½d. less than the average price of the much inferior spirits now consumed. The Consumers throughout the Island would therefore be gainers to the extent of over \$23,000.00 or £10,000 on this article alone.

The following is a statement of account between the Confederation, and the Island. On the debit side is shewn the monies which would go out of the Island—assuming the Customs returns to be equal to \$223,334.40 or £69,792 as received under Canadian tariff, and the Revenue from Light duties and the Post office to be equal to the revenues derived from those sources in 1863. On the other side of the account is shewn the amount which we shall receive annually from the General Government, and the salaries and other liabilities, the payment of which would be assumed by the General Government. The balance is then shewn to be \$35,302.40 or £11,032 currency, a debit to this Colony. Against this balance is placed the sum of \$3,200.00 or £1,000 a year, proceeds of Public Lands, and other credits, which it is argued might justly be claimed as results of Confederation, which together shew that Prince Edward Island would, in a financial point of view, be largely the gainer by Confederation.

Confederation in Account with P. E. Island.		
Dr.		
To Duties upon Imports into P. E. Island according to Canadian tariff	\$ 223,334 40 or £69,792	
Light Duty revenue,	821	
Post Office revenue,	5088 00	1590
	\$ 231,049 60	£72,203
Cr.		
By yearly interest on difference of debt and capitulation allowance	\$ 155,112 60 or £48,472	
Salaries of Judges,	3520 00	1100
Postal expenses,	15068 80	4709
Light Houses,	3184 00	995
Post and Customs,	5987 20	1871
Volunteers and Militia,	1449 60	463
Telegraph service,	864 00	270
Interest on Public Debt, £66597, at 6 p. ct.	10563 20	3301
—less 6 per ct. on Treasury Notes, £11500	35202 40	11032
Balance,	\$ 35,302 40	£11,032
	\$ 231,051 80	£72,203

As a set off to this apparent balance against the Colony, we have:—

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Balance, } \$ 231,051 80

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First.—The whole of our public lands and the amounts due for lands sold, estimated to be worth \$3,200.00, or £1000 a year in perpetuity—over and above cost of management.

Secondly.—The saving to the people of P. E. Island on the cost of spirits, (say 126,000 gallons) at 26 cents or 1s. 7½d. per gallon, equal to over \$32,000.00 or £10,000, as already set forth.

Thirdly.—We should pay no duty on goods manufactured in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Canada. In 1863, as shewn by the Customs returns, large quantities of boots and shoes, candles, leather, coal oil, soap and miscellaneous goods, comprising castings, wooden wares, &c., were imported into this Island from the neighbouring Provinces. I think I am justified in saying, that a large proportion of them were of the production and manufacture of the Provinces.

	Boots, & Shoes	\$5,577.60	£1,743	\$1,352.00	£ 435
	Candles	3,542.40	1,107	707.20	221
	Clothing	268.80	84	67.20	21
	Sole Leather	17,603.20	5,501	3,520.00	1,100
	Coal Oil	7,731.20	2,416	2,128.00	665
	Soap	166.40	52	48.40	15
	Miscellaneous	14,614.40	4,567	2,921.60	913
		\$49,504.00	£15,470	\$10,784.00	£3,370

From the United States and the neighboring Provinces, we imported in 1863, leather to the amount of upwards of \$24,864 or £7,770 ey., on which was paid a duty of upwards of \$4,800 or £1,500 ey. In the review of the general trade of Toronto, for 1864, already alluded to, the *Leader* remarks upon the LEATHER TRADE as follows:—

“The only kinds of leather now imported from abroad to any extent are French waxed calfskins, and the finer kinds of kid and goat skins.”

“Upper leather has ruled low the whole season, at prices very little over the cost of production.”

“The price of sole leather has receded 3c. to 4c. since last June, and ruled lower in 1864 than 1863. The range in 1863, for Spanish sole was 22c. to 24. Comparing the business with that in the States we find our tanners are in a much less favourable position as their leather is 10c. to 20c., (relative to hides) higher than with us, and the demand active for cash or short credit.”

In 1863, we paid for duty upon coal oil from the United States and the Provinces, \$2,467.20 or £771 ey. From the *Leader*, I learn that during the year 1864, the price of REFINED PETROLEUM in Toronto “has fluctu-

The following is a list of these articles, their value, and the duty paid upon importation:

	VALUE.	DUTY.	
Boots & Shoes	\$4,246.40	£1,327	\$1,058.20 £331
Candles	652.80	204	128.00 40
Leather	7,280.80	2,269	1,449.60 453
Coal Oil	848	265	339.20 106
Soap	1,507.20	471	451.20 141
Miscellaneous	12,960.00	4050	2,592.00 810

\$27,475.20 £8 586 \$6,019.20 £1881

Fourthly.—The goods which I am about to enumerate, were, in 1863, imported into this Island from the United States. Similar goods, I am informed, under the Confederation, could be imported from the Provinces at as low a cost as they are now imported from the United States. Some of the articles, viz: Coal Oil, Leather, Soap, Stoves and Carriages, at even less rates.

	VALUE.	DUTY.	
Boots, & Shoes	\$5,577.60	£1,743	\$1,352.00 £ 435
Candles	3,542.40	1,107	707.20 221
Clothing	268.80	84	67.20 21
Sole Leather	17,603.20	5,501	3,520.00 1,100
Coal Oil	7,731.20	2,416	2,128.00 665
Soap	166.40	52	48.40 15
Miscellaneous	14,614.40	4,567	2,921.60 913
	\$49,504.00	£15,470	\$10,784.00 £3,370

ated from 25 to 40c. closing at 30c., which may be considered a safe price both for buyer and seller.”

Fifthly.—We should enjoy all the advantages accorded by France to Canadian shipping.

Sixthly.—Our Militia would be organized and drilled, and if necessary, fully armed at the expense of the general Government. This item may reasonably be stated at \$9,600.00 or \$12,800, equal to £3,000 or £4,000 ey., per annum. Should the Militia require to be armed, the cost of Arms alone would be upwards of £50,000 Stg.

Seventhly.—Our coasting vessels instead of being chargeable with light duty and harbor dues in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada and Newfoundland, respectively, as at present, would, under Confederation, be able to trade to and from any and all of the ports in the Confederation, under one certificate; which would, probably, effect a saving to the shipping of P. E. Island of several hundreds of pounds annually.

Those who are acquainted with the history of Taxation in the Mother Country, are aware of that which experience has clearly demonstrated, namely, that high duties upon articles of general consumption, as a rule,

produce a smaller Revenue than moderate taxes. Many instances might be adduced, in which reduction of duties has been followed by increase to revenue, and, on the contrary, instances of increased duties producing a diminution of Revenue.

In Britain, prior to the year 1745, the duty upon Tea was 4s. per pound. This duty yielded on an average £150,000 a year, showing—had there been no smuggling or adulteration—that the consumption was equal to about 750,000 lbs. In 1745 the duty on tea was reduced to 1s. In the year following the reduction of duty, *two millions* of pounds weight were sold for home consumption, and the revenue was increased to £243,309. The duty on tea was again raised in 1748, the result of which was, that tea sold by the shopkeepers, was extensively adulterated, in order to enable them to compete with the tea smuggled; which came into the kingdom in enormous quantities.

The most important dutiable articles consumed on this Island are tea and sugar. The quantities used, are, in proportion to our population, very large. These articles the people will have, cost what they may. Imported under the Canadian Tariff, sugar would cost 2 cents or 1½d per lb more than it costs at present, and tea would cost an additional 2½ cents or 1½d per lb. I feel assured that the consumption of tea and sugar in this Island would be no less under Confederation than it is now. But would the amount consumed pay duty? There is too much reason to believe that a very large proportion of it would not. The quantity which would pay duty, would be less in my opinion, than that which would be smuggled. Smuggling is carried on the world over. If in any country the profit to be derived from smuggling is *large*, and the risk of detection and punishment *small*, it would be folly to suppose, that in that country, smuggling would not be carried on upon a large scale.

The bulk of the people in all countries, are far from regarding with feelings of aversion, those who supply them with cheap Tea, Sugar, etc. The smuggler is rather a popular character, and although he plies a trade in itself nefarious—ruinous to the revenue and the honest dealer—he finds little difficulty in disposing of his commodities. Their cheapness is a merit which outweighs any little objection on the score of their not having paid duty. Under Confederation the officers of the General Government, charged with the collection of the Customs Revenue, would not, I fear, receive much support or sympathy from the bulk of the population of this Island. These officers would be looked upon as publi-

cans, whose business would be to compel poor people to pay exorbitant prices for tea and sugar, and other things, in order to raise money to send to Canada.

At present the people are aware, that unless duties are paid, the public service cannot be carried on; and, I presume there are those to be found, who would now exert themselves, diligently, to prevent the revenue being defrauded, but who, under Confederation—considering that our revenue would then be *fixed*, and would not be affected by smuggling being carried on in the Island—would encourage, rather than discountenance the smuggler. The risk of detection and punishment which the smuggler would incur, would be trifling. There is not a mile of our coast from the East Point to the North Cape, on either side of the Island, on which goods might not with ease and safety be landed from schooners. A chest of common Tea costs about \$24.20 or £7 17s 6d. cy. The duty with which, under the Canadian Tariff, it is chargeable, is about \$6.52, or £2 0s. 8d. cur'y. The inducement to smuggle, would therefore be equal to 25 per cent.

A Barrel of sugar costs about \$10.00 or £3 2s. 6d. cy. The duty would be \$4.80, or £1 10s. cy. The smugglers profit would be 48 per cent. A keg of Tobacco would yield the smuggler about \$12.48 or 78s. cy.

In Canada where the facilities for smuggling are comparatively few, Mr. Galt may find it possible to impose high duties upon tea, sugar and tobacco; and to collect them. I shall be very much mistaken if the first year's experience under Confederation, does not convince the Finance Minister, that no duties such as are now imposed upon Tea and Sugar by the Canadian Tariff, can be collected in the Maritime Provinces, and induce him to lower the duties, especially upon these articles.

Notwithstanding the high tariff of Canada, and the distance of Montreal from the ocean, Tea, Sugar and Molasses are sold in that city at prices which I believe are less than are obtained for the same articles in Charlottetown.

The following is a comparative statement of the prices of the several articles named, in Charlottetown and in Montreal. (The prices of Sugar, Molasses and Tobacco, are taken from the Montreal Herald, 19th January, 1865.)

P. E. ISLAND.

Charlottetown (wholesale prices)

Tea, Congo, 2s 6d to 2s 8d Ia. c'y., equal to 43 cts.	
Sugar, Porto Rico, bright	7d 9 cts
Crushed	1s 16 cts
Molasses, Muscovado, 2s 4d to 2s 6d, 37 to 40 cts.	
Tobacco,	1s 9d to 2s, 28 to 32 cts.

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Montreal (wholesale prices)

Tea, Congo, 37 to 44 cts.—2s 3d to 2s 9d Isl. cy.
 Sugar, Porto Rico, bright, 9 to 9½ cts.—6½d to 7d do.
 Crushed, 14 cts.—10½ do.
 Molasses, Muscovado, 35 to 40 cts.—2s 2½d to 2s 6d
 Tobacco, 23 to 27 cts.—1s 5½d to 1s 8½d

Some of the opponents of Confederation are particularly eloquent upon the subject of Defence. They present to the public, most touching pictures of our militia, forced to leave their homes and their families, unprotected, and marched by compulsion to defend the frontier of Upper Canada. They tell us also that we should be heavily taxed to pay the expense of organizing and drilling the militia, and for fortifications and military works to be constructed beyond the Island, from which we are not to derive benefit, because forsooth these works are not to be constructed in Prince Edward Island. Under Confederation I presume the militia of every Province would be organized, armed and drilled; and will not Prince Edward Island whether she enters the Confederation or remains out of it, be required to organize, arm and drill her militia? I think it is generally believed that she will be required to do so—and to do it at her own proper expense. If fortifications are required for the defence of Canada, is there anything unreasonable in asking the people of Prince Edward Island to pay their proportion, according to population, of the cost of constructing those fortifications. Is not the safety of Canada or of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at this moment the safety of Prince Edward Island? Would it not, if possible, be even more so under the Confederation?

The fortifications to which I allude are to be constructed with a view to the *security of our common Country*. If erected, they will be erected because they are considered necessary, as means of defence, *and not to benefit contractors and laborers*. Should the territory of the Confederation ever be invaded whether on the St. John or the St. Clair River, should not every man within its boundaries consider himself a soldier, and be ready to shoulder his rifle and to march against the invaders? The objection that our Militia would be forced to march to the frontiers of Canada, and the intimation that the people of the Maritime Provinces should not trouble themselves about Canadian defences,—inasmuch as, if the Provinces should be invaded, they will, in all probability, be invaded in Upper Canada, and that there the battles which would decide their common fate, would be fought,—are certainly not creditable to their authors. That the “tug of war,” in case of invasion, will probably

come in Canada, is subject for thankfulness, on the part of the people of the Maritime Provinces, and should render the inhabitants of these Provinces the more willing to rush to the defence, inasmuch as, whatever may be the issue, their families would in all probability be free from the horrors and miseries of war, to which those of our Canadian brethren would be subjected, *even should they be victorious*. We shall henceforth have upon our borders a powerful and military people, and our safety will depend, in my humble opinion, upon the character of the people of the British Provinces. “*Homines non muros*”—men with stout hearts determined to be free—men such as existed in “the brave days of old”—and such as are now struggling for liberty in the neighbouring Republic, will be our best security. Without such men, fortifications, and ships will be of little avail. The Spartans ruled in Greece, not by reason of the strength of their City—for it was un-walled—neither by reason of the number of their Citizens, but because they lived as one army, well disciplined and obedient to their leaders.

If the men of the British Provinces prove themselves worthy of the races from which they are descended, the day is not far distant, when they will be a great and powerful people. If on the other hand, they display that *valor and wisdom* which are illustrated by the man who remains at his own fire side, when the invader has crossed the frontier, and goes not forth to meet him, but “*by compulsion*”—depend upon it our existence either as Dependencies of Great Britain, or as an Independency, will be but of short duration, and our fate will be ignoble.

Another objection urged against Confederation—a very singular one—is that the widening of the Canals in Upper Canada, and the construction of the Inter-colonial Railway, would lead to the cultivation of large tracts of land, now wilderness, in New Brunswick, and afford greater facilities for supplying the Halifax and St. John's markets with grain and other agricultural produce, which is to come down from Upper Canada so soon as the Western Canals are re-constructed and widened, and would injure the Island trade in those markets!

The prices of Barley, Oats and Potatoes in Toronto, Canada West, on the 11th January last, were as follow:

Barley 65c. to 70c. or 4s. 0½d to 4s. 4½d. cy.
 Oats 40c. to 42c. or 2s. 6d. to 2s. 7½d.
 Potatoes 25c. to 35c. or 1s. 6½d. to 2s. 2½d.

These prices are better than the prices now to be had for the same articles in Char-

lottetown market; and the best argument I can oppose to the foolish objection to which I have just alluded, is that the nearest part of Upper Canada is nearly one thousand miles distant from Halifax or St. John.

The Canadian trade in Barley is extensive. The quantity shipped from Toronto in 1864 was 435,943 bushels,—“pretty heavy orders came in from Nova Scotia.”

The Toronto *Leader* gives the following comparative statement of the price of Barley, each week, during the last two years. The figures are stated to have been taken from the Books of a leading Merchant, and to be based upon actual purchases:

Comparative statement shewing prices of BARLEY in Toronto, Canada West, every week, during the years 1863 and 1864.

	1863.		1864.	
	Avg.	h'st.	Avg.	h'st.
Jan.	3 88 cts.	95 cts.	79 cts.	80 cts.
	10 89	97	75	79
	17 89	95	75	76
	24 87	92	75	78
	31 88	92	74	79
Feb.	7 90	95	77	79
	14 92	101	79	86
	21 93	100	80	82
	28 92	97	81	85
March	7 89	95	80	85
	14 85	93	81	83
	21 87	92	81	85
	28 88	90	80	86
April	4 90	95	82	85
	11 90	95	82	85
	18 92	99	83	86
	25 95	105	82	84
May	2 95	100	75	82
	9 92	99	72	80
	16 90	96	73	76
	23 95	96	75	80
	30 90	91	80	82
June	6 85	92	60	67
	13 82	89	55	60
	20 80	87	55	62
	27 78	87	54	57
July	4 78	82	53	54
	11 77	82	52	60
	18 65	80	57	60
	25 70	72	58	62
Aug.	1 62	77	58	60
	8 63	73	60	62
	15 63	77	62	63
	22 62	76	70	75
	29 72	79	80	87
Sept.	5 78	85	79	88
	12 85	96	82	86
	19 83	85	84	85
	26 75	83	84	87

Oct.	3 84	90	83	84
	10 88	92	81	83
	17 90	93	77	81
	24 88	92	78	82
	31 87	91	78	83
Nov.	7 79	81	73	78
	14 80	82	65	72
	21 75	80	63	66
	28 77	90	63	65
Dec.	5 75	81	64	65
	12 79	81	64	70
	19 76	78	66	72
	26 75	78	68	75

The highest price paid for Barley in Toronto, during the two years, was \$1.05 or 6s. 6½d. of our currency, (25th April, 1863.) The lowest price, 52c., or 3s. 3d. Island currency, (11th July, 1864.)

A Bushel of Barley in Canada is 50 lbs.

The average price obtained for Barley in Charlottetown, during the past year, was under 64c. or 4s. currency; it is now selling for 48c. or 3s. currency.

We, in Prince Edward Island, should not shut our eyes to the fact, that of the elements essential to greatness we are deficient. We have no extensive territory or population; the “Territorial element” and “the Personal element” are wanting; and I regret to add that for five months in the year the “Maritime element” is not available. We have no mines, minerals, or manufactures, and must be contented to remain an agricultural country. We are, however, within twenty or thirty miles of the coal mines of Nova Scotia; and, during the summer months, can reach from Charlottetown and Summerside, the Capitals of that Province, and of New Brunswick in the course of twelve hours. Let us look forward, hopefully, to the time when Confederation shall have caused Pictou and Halifax and St. John to become to British America what Birmingham and Manchester and Liverpool now are to England. When that day arrives, and *come it will*, Prince Edward Island will realize the truth of that which I now assert, that the *prosperity of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Canada necessarily implies the prosperity of Prince Edward Island*. When the Cities I have named, shall have become the populous emporiums of manufactures and of commerce, they will prove to be the markets in which our farmers will find a profitable sale for the productions of our fertile soil.

Time will not permit me to dwell upon this most important subject. Were it otherwise, I should enumerate benefits which, in my opinion, we should derive from Confederation, and point out evils from which Confederation would relieve us. Under Confed-

eration, we should have a CENTRAL MILITARY ORGANIZATION for the protection and defence of the country; and uniform laws for the regulation of Trade and Commerce. Laws relating to BANKRUPTCY and INSOLVENCY—which are considered to require for their effective administration a machinery more complicated than can be judiciously organized in small dependencies, and the want of which is now felt in this Island—would then afford their protection alike to the Creditor and the Debtor. We should also have a COURT OF APPEAL, before which, at a comparatively trifling cost, those who might be dissatisfied with decisions of the Supreme Court—instead of enjoying, as at present, the privilege of going before the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords in England—at a comparatively trifling expense, would be enabled to have those judgments reviewed by a competent Colonial Court of Appeal.

I believe that I have, this evening, placed before you *data* from which it may be justly concluded, that under Confederation and the Canadian Tariff, we should pay a smaller amount of taxes than we pay at present, or than we should pay at any future time, should we retain our existing constitution; and that I have also answered the objections of the opponents of Confederation to the smallness of the representation which the Island would have in the General Legislature; and to the measures which are about to be taken with a view to the safety and protection of our country.

Confederation, I consider, not a matter of choice, but of necessity. Unless the peoples of the Provinces unite, and thus become one people, depend upon it we shall not long continue to enjoy our Monarchical Institutions. I have ever been an advocate for Confederation. I advocate it because I believe it is essential to the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America in general, and of my native Island in particular. I am told that the subject is *unpopular*. I regret that it is so; and hope that it will, ere long, be otherwise. I believe that it will. My judgment assures me that my views upon Confederation are just—and that judgment I shall not alter in obedience to the *will* of any man, or of any body of men. I may be in error. If it shall hereafter be proved that I am in error, I shall at least be consoled by the reflection that in all the Provinces—in the Church and in the Senate, on the Bench and at the Bar—men of profound learning and genius, of extensive experience, and possessed of matured judgments, had displayed all the powers of their lofty eloquence in advocacy of the Confederation now proposed.

In conclusion, permit me to say that I advocate Confederation “upon principles just to the several Provinces”—upon the principles expressed in the Report of the Quebec Conference, which, notwithstanding all that has been said and written against them, I consider to be “JUST TO THE SEVERAL PROVINCES,” AND JUST AND LIBERAL TO PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.